HOTICE TO OUR BOSTON SUBSCRIBERS.

Those of our subscribers in Boston and vi ity who have heretofore received their pafer they will receive them by mail. Should any subscriber fail to receive his paper, he will oblige us by informing us of the fact, and also of the time to which he has paid his

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 20, 1854

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE RATIONAL PRA. The enlargement of our Weekly paper, and the enterprise of the Daily, have subjected us this year to an increased expenditure over that of last year, of about \$6 000. Now, business men do not like to speak of their private concerns : but it is but justice to ourselves to say, that so far from being enabled to meet this increased expenditure by increased receipts, our receipts this year are much less than they were last; and, after all the strong promises of our friends, for the first time since we have owned the Era, the expenses of our establishment will

Now, all we have to say is, that, as we have been making extraordinary exertion and outlays, to defeat one of the most stupendous sggressions ever attempted on the rights of freemen, we feel no hesitation in asking those who appreciate the value of the Era to not forth a little extra effort at this time t crease its circulation, and so at least diminish the heavy loss which we have incurred.

BELL SMITH ABEOAD.

Our readers will be pleased to learn, by ar advertisement in the Era, that the delightful original letters from "Bell Smith Abroad, contributed to the Era, are to be speedily issued in an elegant volume, by J. C. Derby. publisher, New York. They will be righly illustrated with designs from French artists. We still hope to be favored with coasional contributions from her pen.

FILES OF THE ERA FOR SALE.

As we have been printing a large supply of the Era since the commencement of the Ne-braska excitement, we can furnish at very low rates, for general circulation, files of the paper from December 1, 1853, to April 1, 1854, a period of four months, containing-Goodell's Series on the Legal Ten

Slavery; Speech of Gerrit Smith on the Keszta Co

Speech of Mr. Giddings on the Amista Address of the Independent Democratic Members of Congress on the Nebraska Ques-

Speeches of Messrs. Chase, Seward, Sum ner, and Douglas, upon the same question And our Editorials upon the same question

amounting to more than one hundred columns. We will supply them at 25 cents a single file, or at \$1 for five files.

We doubt whether documents of so much value, so suitable for circulation at this crisis, could be furnished at so low a cost in any oth-

NEUTRAL BIGHTS

A premature appouncement appeared in some of our papers, to the effect that the British Government had at last abandoned its old in relation to neutral vessels, and much credit risdiction. was claimed for Mr. Buchanan, to whose timewas attributed. We did not credit the story, for Great Britain has an almost unconquerable

The following is the Queen's Declaration on the subject of Neutral Rights:

been compelled to take up arms in support of an ally, is desirous of rendering the war as little doerous as possible to the Powers with whom she remains at peace. To preserve the commerce of neutrals from

all unnecessary obstruction, Her Majesty is willing, for the present, to waive a part of the belligerent rights appertaining to her by the law of nations.

"It is impossible for Her Majesty to forego

the exercise of her right of seizing articles contraband of war, and of preventing neutrals from bearing the enemy's dispatches, and she vent neutrals from breaking any effective blockade which may be established with an adequate force against the enemy's forte, harbors, "But Her Majesty will waive the right of

seizing enemy's property laden on board a neutral vessel, unless it be contraband of war. It is not Her Majesty's intention to claim contraband of war, found on board enemy's being anxious to lessen as much as possible the evils of war, and to restrict its operatione to the regularly organized forces of the country, it is not her present intention to issue letters of marque for the commissioning of privateers.

"Westminster, March, 28, 1854."

The right to seize articles contraband of war, to prevent neutrals from carrying the enemy's despatches, and from breaking an effective blockade, established by an adequate force, will be rigidly enforced; but "her Majesty will waive the right of seizing enemy's property laden on board a neutral vessel," if not contraband of war, and does not intend to "claim the confiscation of neutral property," not contraband of war, "on board enemy's ships."

Practically, this policy, if continued during

the war, will exempt us from damage; but, it will be observed that the Government asserts the existence of the right to break up all commerce by neutrals with the enemies of Britain : and the question whether it shall be exercised or not, that Government reserves, subject alone to its own discretion.

After all, the only eccurity that the United States have for their neutral rights rests in their power to make them respected, and the injury that Great Britain would be sure to sustain from any attempt to violate them.

IF Mr. Wilson, the Land Commission only 1,391,480,320 acres, which is less by 220,704,599 than was reported in the annual statement from the Land Office. The error

PARTIES AND SLAVERY

Line upon line, precept upon precept How slow is the progress of Truth, when Pre-judice and mistaken Self-Interest combine to oppose it! Three-quarters of a century ago, Lord Mans

field decided that Slavery was so odious, and so repugnant to natural right, that it could not exist except by positive law. About the same time commenced the agitation against the slave trade, a traffic deemed honorable by Christendom, and carried on not unfrequently by companies instituted by Royal charters. From that time to this, the subject of Slavery in all its relations, moral, social, economics and political, has been under discussion in al civil zed countries. The slave trade has come to be denominated piracy; England, France, and Denmark, have abolished Slavery in their colonies; of the original States of this Union. seven have put en end to it within their borders, either by judicial decision or legislative enactment; six new free States have been organized out of Territory exempted from it by Cougreesional ordinance; an Emancipation Party has been organized in Brazil; and in Cuba, system of measures looking to ultimate abolition has lately been commenced, under authority of the Home Government. All these important events have been attended with dissions, learned, comprehensive, thorough The highest authorities in Law, Government Religion, and Philosophy, have been arrayed

against Slavery.

and free principles has been more protracted and fierce than in any other; for here is the seat, at once, of the best organized, most deeply rooted, most extensive, and most powerful system of Slavery, and of the best developed, most comprehensive, and most beneficent system of Free Institutions, that the world has ever witnessed. For seventy-five years has the struggle been going on, at first to the disadvantage of Slavery. For, no one can doubt that, when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, when one State after another of the natural causes, threw off its burden; when new Constitution refused to introduce the word Slavery" into that instrument, and treated time; and when all the slave States, with a slave traffic,-the Anti-Slavery sentiment was in the ascendant, and Free Institutions were

In our own country, the struggle between

steadily gaining upon Slave Institutions. But, for reasons that we have often explained, the latter began to acquire strength, the former to lose something of their expansive power. The struggle between them became more doubtful, now inuring to the benefit of one system, then to that of the other, until, at last, we find them treating and compromising, almost on a footing of equality.

And now, what is the spectacle presented Slavery in actual occupation of more than half of the original area of the Union, and of the acquisitions from Frence and Spain, and claim-NEW YORK RECORDER .- In our advertising more than six hundred thousand square miles, tinuous and systematic efforts for the overthrow the New York Recorder, the largest Baptist quarters of a century, in which Freedom and but a single emanation. newspaper in the world. It is a journal of Slavery have been striving for the mastery, we | As for expecting either of the two old Parties dectrine concerning the rights of belligerents common law in all the Territory within its ju-

Now, have we not a right to say, that the ly and wise interposition this great concession People to whom more especially have been committed the interests of Free Labor Institutions, who have grown up under their influrepugnance to surrendering any claim, the ences who have reaped their benefits whose exercise of which may, in some contingency or welfare is identified with their preservation other, inure to her benefit; and we expressed and growth, have either failed to comprehend the opinion that she would simply waive, un- their full claims, the inherent antagonism beder existing circumstances, the enforcement of tween them and the pretensions of Slavery, her old claims an opinion confirmed by sub- and the necessity of active efforts for its restriction and their extension, or have proved false to their own convictions?

After the discussions of a century, with the "Her Majesty the Queen of the United world's example on their side, with the world's Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having Literature, and Religion, and Law, speaking world's example on their side, with the world's for Liberty, with all the early precedents in our own history, and the original policy of the Government in their favor, what could have given to this hateful Institution of Slavery paramount power and consideration in this model Republic, a Moneyed and Political Power, such as it has enjoyed nowhere else on the face of the globe? What, but gross indifference, shameful ignorance, or base treachery on their part?

We may acquit ourselves of treachery, but must bear the blame. When we remember that we have had on our side the public opinion of mankind, the civilization of modern times, the Truth of God, the testimony of our Fathers, the Declaration of Independence, the Principles of the Constitution, superior wealth the confiscation of neutral property, not being and numerical force, and always a majority in the National Legislature, it is a damning disgrace to us, that at this day, the Slave In- that cotton is necessary to the world's comterest should be the controlling element in the fort, to the world's industry, to the world's Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Depart-

> What has sunk the People of this identified with the Cause of Free Labor Institutions, to such a depth of degradation? kxclusive devotion to their own material interests, and stolid ignorance of the true nature, necessities, and policy, of Slavery, as well as of the policy required to give to Free Institutions their just weight in the Union.

These vices, for vices they are, have been fostered by their old political organization which have been formed without reference to Human Rights, to Free Labor, or Slave Labor. The alpha and omega of their statesmanship have been material interests-the acquisition of ly propose to defy the power of the former Territory, the promotion of Commerce, the derelopment of the physical resources of the coun-

try. Meantime, an Interest, distinct, insulated. sinister, all-grasping, has confronted them both, with demands for special protection, special favors : and, intent on their main objects, unwilling to jeopard them, or impair their political power, they have yielded, and yielded, and

papers shrink from having the epithet applied to their party! In the Senate of the United

a Whig, be a Democrat, and, as your parties come to entertain a contemptuous opin slave to Slavery. Call us an Aboli parties whose law is the will of Slavery. How know and feel that it is true. bravely now some of you talk for Freedom! Legislatures protest against this Nebraska bill, Popular meetings denounce it. States are an-nouncing at the Ballot Box their disapprobation. Perhaps you may intimidate enough Representatives to defeat the measure.

What then? You will all go to sleep, and Whig and Democratic sentinels will cry all's well. By and by, you will have some more Baltimore Conventions. Whig and Democratic delegates will assemble in solemn council. swear by the Legislation of 1850, as the bless ed fruit of Compromise, drivel about finalities and give us second editions of Generals Pierce and Scott!

Independent Democrats the inderstand the true policy of freemen. See Old Thirteen, stimulated by the liberal spirit of how they lost themselves in New York, broke the Revolution, and aided by the operation of up in Maine, split in Connecticut! Some natural causes, three off its burden; when other issue than Slavery is presented, and, inthe last Congress of the Confederation passed stead of taking ground upon it, as a Party. the celebrated Ordinance consecrating the and explicitly voting, as a Party, for candidates whole of the Territory then belonging to the for or against it, they suffer themselves to be Union to Freedom; when the framers of the scattered-one man votes one way, another another—the result is, one or two thousand the whole show made for the Independent the thing itself as an evil to be tolerated for a Democratic candidate! In Connecticut for example, where they can cast a vote of 10,000. single exception, passed acts prohibiting the they have given their candidate two or three

A few days ago, an active friend wrote us from Pennsylvania, that he was so bent on defeating the Nebraska movement, that he, for his part, should vote for any candidate opposed to it, who might be set up by any other Party. Is this the way to organize a permanent and empire within ourselves; we have no occasion an efficient Party of Freedom? Let that friend to secede; if you do not like the association use all proper effort to perfect and strengthen you can leave, being of the least possible ac his own organization. Then, let him and his count to us. We have long looked forward to associates, if it seem wise to vote for an Anti- this hour; and by the acquisition of Cuba, the Nebraska candidate set up by Whigs or Dem- annexation of Mexican Territory, our Souther ocrate, act together as a Party, vote for him in such a way as shall show their force, and. while accomplishing an immediate good, not quite prepared for your departure." ing possession of all the rest of our Territory, disable, but rather strengthen them, for con-

solid merit, with a very able corps of editors find fifteen Slave States in the Union, three under whose policy, Slavery has grown asmillions instead of half a million of slaves, nine | cendant in our Federal Councils, and to a great hundred thousand instead of four hundred extent over Public Sentiment, to become transthousand miles of Slave Territory, and a power formed into a Party of Freedom, and to undo all growing out of the Moneyed Interests of Sla- the mischief it has done, it is a miscrable devery, which gives law to the Federal Govern- lusion; and until Anti-Slavery men rid themment, and claims that Slavery shall be the selves of it, there will be no Element in our Politics, to counterbalance and counteract the Slave Interest.

SHALL THERE BE A PARTY OF FREEDOM!

A gentleman writing to a friend in this city, from Providence, Rhode Island, concerning the great meeting held there in opposition to the the hands of the Slave Power. repeal of the Missouri Compromise, says, that the speakers indulged freely in calculations of the value of the Union, and were never so tutions will assert their rightful sway, the loudly applauded as when announcing their | Slave Interest will become subordinate, mission to the exactions of Slavery. He him-self, although an old member of the Democratic solving the Union, if the thing should then be Party, and formerly intrusted with a mission abroad from the Federal Government, sympa- but the Federal Govenment will be in the thized most profoundly with these expressions of sentiment. Let any one take the trouble to for the protection and extension of the bless-examine the speeches made by distinguished ings of Freedom and Free Labor. This unacmen at these Anti-Nebraska meetings, and the language and spirit of the resolutions adopted. and he will see that a change has come over the mind of the North and West. In the absented to the Free States will be Pernetual sence of the old declarations of devotion to the Union, in the coldness with which its value is calculated, in the determined avowal of resist- they yet have the power, by such an assertion ance to Slavery-aggression, cost what it may, and of their rights at the ballot-box, as shall secure in the not infrequent allusion to a separation of to them the control of the Federal Governthe States as after all, holding out the only ment? Or, will they continue to fritter away certain mode of overthrowing the tyranny of their energies in organizations controlled by the Slave Interest, he will detect the growth of the Slave Interest, and forever used as its a Sentiment, full of warning to Slaveholders tools? and their Northern auxiliaries.

But slaveholders misunderstand, and will continue to misunderstand, the free States An overweening estimate of their own powe and consequence leads them astray. They say commerce; that it gives employment to the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Departments of the Federal Government; so controlling, as to make an honest avowal of opposition to Slavery, a bar to political preferment, almost a cause of social proscription.

commerce; that it gives employment to the shipping of the Morthern States; that it is the great staple of their commerce, the chief source of 1850; the prohibition of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850; the prohibition of Slavery in the Disworking classes of England, without it, would be compelled to venture on Revolution, to escape starvation; that in this way the world is rendered tributary to and dependent upon Slave Labor-the Slave Labor of the Southern States. This is why they bully Great Britain just as they do the free States of this Union. This is why, in the face of the remonstrances of both, they persist in imprisoning their colored seamen. This is why their lead ing organs affect to regard Russia as their natural ally, abuse England as they do the free States, for Abolition fanaticism, and bold-

and coerce that of the latter, in the plot to wrest Cuba from Spain. Nothing could lead them to assume such an attitude, but the delusion that the dependence of the free States and of Great Britain on cotton will compel them to forbearance, no matter how extreme the

of the estimate placed upon them by Slaveinto the belief that the North and West can-The New York Times thinks it is not necessary to feel humilisated by the discovery, as we proved the humilisated by the discovery, as we proved the humilisated by the discovery, as we proved the policy of their Representatives in Congress 1 the policy of the New York Evening 7 and in Figure 1 the policy of the New York Evening 7 and in Figure 2 the policy of the New York 2 the policy of the New York 2 the policy of the Policy of the New York 2 the policy of the Representatives in Congress 1 the policy of the New York 2 the policy of the New York 2 the policy of the Policy of the Representatives in Congress 1 the policy of the New York 2 the policy of the

know the event, save by the telegraph and

are shams, wretched shams. They are the a large number of their Representatives and in the slaveholding States. sum and substance of base subservience to Sla-very. We hate, abhor, and loathe both. Be mitted to political degradation, that they have mitted to political degradation, that they have are now constituted and governed, you are a Northern spirit and character. They always itionist, a act on the assumption that Northern men are Free-Soiler, a Free Democrat, an Independent sordid, flexible, and cowardly. There is no Democrat, anything to distinguish us from the exaggeration in all this. Members of Congress self-abnegating, infatuated masses that are from the free States, not blinded by Party, not working out their own degradation, through rendered mercenary by sordid self-seeking, But, with such views and sentiments are

> vailing among slaveholders, what can be ex pected but just such aggressions, pretensio and assumptions of superiority, as characterize their whole intercourse with the North? Were not such views and sentiments prevalent among them, would they dare demand the abo of the covenant which now exempts Nebrasks from Slavery? Would they recklessly avow the purpose of obtaining possession of Cuba, to prevent emancipation there, and to establish forever in the Union the ascendency of the Slave Power? Would they coolly attempt to take from the Public Treasury twenty millions of dollars to buy Mexican Territory, and secure the subservience of the needy, unscrupulou adventurer who calls himself the Dietator o Mexico, with a view to the immediate extension of the area of Slavery southwardly, to paving the way for future extension, as it may become expedient, and to connecting elaveholding territory by a National railroad with one of most important seaports on the Pacific?

Their policy is plain. They will hold poss factions in the North and West against one another, use the power and the money of the Government for the aggrandizement of Slavery and the expansion of Slave Territory, and thus prepare themselves for absolute sway over the destinies of the Union. Then, should the Pub lic Opinion of the free States be at last so exasperated as to demand Dissolution, the answer would be, "As you please; -we have the Government and the Territories: we form an empire within ourselves; we have no cocasion route to the Pacific, and the useful services of our pensioner in Mexico, Santa Anna, we are

This is the policy of the Slave Interest,-su premacy in the Union, and aggrandisement of finally, should the North and West be aroused to resistance, Dissolution, the onus of secession being placed upon them, the Federal Government, with its machinery, its Territories and Treasury, to remain within the grasp of the Slaveholders. One thing is necessary to this consummation—the continued division and emasculation of the free States by the Whig and Democratic organizations, with their miserable, impudent pretences about "Compromise" and "Nationality." One thing will prevent it—the subtration of the political power of the free States in a single Party-the Party of Freedom-for the rescue of the Federal Government from

This accomplished, bounds will be set to the extension of slave territory, Free Labor instireference of Dissolution to any further sub- an Emancipation Party will gradually be dedreamed of, will rest upon the slaveholders hands of those who will know how to use it complished, and so sure as Despotism never voluntarily parts with its power, so sure will the time come when the only alternative pre-Political Degradation, or Secession.

Will they avert this dread alternative while

THE DIFFERENCE-TWO MILLIONS AND FIF. TEEN MILLIONS

Senate, Monday, April 10, 1854. Mr. Seward presented the memorial of Bernhard Behrena, of New York, (in German.) praying that the word Slavery, wherever it occurs in the Nebraska bill, be stricken out. Of one hundred and fifty citizens of Washtrict of Columbia.
Of citizens of Haverstraw, New York, against

the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise.
Of two hundred and eight men and women
of northern New Hampshire, to the same ef-

Of forty five ministers of the Gospel, of Re ester, New York, to the same effect.

Of 1 672 citizens of Detroit, Michigan

Of 1 672 citizens of Detroit, Michigan;
Of the church and congregation of the Congregational Church at Lebanon, New York;
Of citizens of Charleston, New York;
Of three hundred avd fifty citizens of Niagara county, New York;
Of sixty citizens of Grand Rapids, Michigan—all against the Nebraska bill.
Mr. Everett presented the resolutions adopted by the town of Hempstead, Massachusetts, against the Nebraska bill.
Mr. Foot presented the resolutions adopted by the town of Randolph, Vermont, against the passage of the same bill.

former; from the latter was heard an ocea-sional protest against the Wilmot Proviso. would fill Congress with Representatives who

means no more, no less, than absolute subservience to the Slave Interest, and shall control the masses of this country, Slavery will go on, conquering and to conquer. Look at your Democratic prints, as you style them; they affect contempt for "Free Soil!" And Whig to starve, grass grow in the streets of your free population of the slave States. It is this the Clergy to protest, whenever the Slave Power which the Slave Power can be everthrown. class that constitute the People of the South; should attempt an aggressive movement. The that control its Press and the Pulpit, its coole-

> Who then are to send up petiti South, in regard to Slavery? Not the four holders, befiled and beaten by a small class of Liberty, are habitally glorified by them, and we may very probably support can millions of non-slaveholders, for they are vir- determined men, who, disdaining to beg, comtually shut cut from political life, except the mand, knowing that their will is the Law privilege of voting for such candidates as the their agents? Ruling Class may dictate to them. And why If they are satisfied, let them submit to vas should any member or adherent of this class salage, without grumbling: if they are not, let petition? Why should Power beg of itself to them trample under foot effete political organtake care of its own prerogatives, protest izations, whose cherished names, "Whig" and are subordinated by them to the exceptional against its own acts? Classes, Oligarchies, Aristocracies, protect themselves, watch over ineradicable servility to Slavery. Let them and provide for their own interests. Whenever spurn the Parties that have given them such a question arises involving the welfare of the Slaveholding Class, the two millions in the such creeds as the Baltimore Platforms, such a South interested in it need give themselves no uneasiness. The Senators and Representatives whom they have sent to Congress understand what is to be done, and do it without suggestion or petition. With them, as with their constituents, the interests of their class are paramount, and they never betray their

How different the state of things in the free States! As a general rule, Questions of Slavery are thrust out of their politics. In one place, a member is chosen because he will favor some railroad scheme of plunder; in another, to secure the interest of some steamboat monopoly; commercial reasons dictate the selection of this man; that one will work for the manufacturer; Rum is prevalent in one case; the Maine Law in another; while paramount to every other consideration, is loyalty to the Whig or Democratic Party, the organization of each being pervaded by subser promise and Nationality as defined by the Slave

Thus, New Hampshire, after having year after year passed resolves in favor of the policy of Slavery restriction by Congressional legislation, elects two Senators, on the strength of their devotion to the Democratic Party, without the slightest reference to their Principles on the subject of Slavery, and their most signal acts are, speeches and votes against that policy! So the free States of Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa professing to be unfriendly to Slavery, and opposed to its extension, send Senators to Congress, who, on every question involving the interests of the Slaveholding Class, no matter how incompatible with the views and interests of their constituents, vote with the representatives of this Class. Look at Ohio. It is notorious that the majority of her People are Anti-Slaveryators Chase and Wade have nobly represented pant Party in the Ohio Legislature chooses, as Government. holding Class of the South. And then this by assigning to the consistent friends of Party, styling itself Democratic, tells us that, Freedom and Free Labor, the majorities in not taken into consideration!

These are mere illustrations of what is the usage under the present political organization of the free States. And the result of this usage is, the gross misrepresentation of their opinion of trust and influence; and by giving to appliand interests on Questions of Slavery. ever a crisis comes, in which a great question is to be decided between Liberty and Slavery, you find a large body of Northern Representatives and Senators acting with the Ruling Class of the South, as stubbornly and truculently as if chosen expressly to take care of its interests. What a pitiable spectacle! The Free States

have a free population of fifteen or sixteen mil-lions, abounding in enterprise, wealth, resources-characterized by ingenuity, intelligence, energy-distinguished, as compared with the rest of the country, for Literature, Science, Arts-beasting of their Common Schools, Colleges and Churches,-and yet, whenever any Question arises about Slavery, we see them The Federal Government would no longer be humbly petitioning their agents not to betray an instrument of the Slave Interest, its power their interests, while the Ruling Class of the prostituted, its treasury plundered, its patron-South, silent, dignified and stern, knows the age abused, for the extension of the area and fidelity of its agents too well, to trouble itself influence of Slavery, but made to minister with apprehension, or them with petitions. It to the protection and extension of Free Institutend its Power; and they do it. The fifteen ganized on the basis of Compromise with Slamillions of People in the Free States send men | very, nor would the disguise or renunciation of to Congress-in God's name, for what? Will Anti-Slavery sentiments be necessary, as now, any one tell us? O, to secure grants for rail- to political preferment. Servility in the free roads, appropriations for steam companies, States, Pro-Slavery fanaticiem in the slave patronage from the Government, and take States, would be as opprobrious as Free-Soilism care generally of the interests of "Democra- in the former and Emancipationism in the ey" and "Whiggery;" and if all this cannot latter are now. The Slave Interest, dispossessed genuflexions to Slavery, and treachery to the stripped of its political consequence and pat-Cause of Freedom, they need not hesitate—the ronage, with no power to punish or reward.

will take care of them. fifteen millions of free People, to accomplish have no interest in the support of Slavery, make laws for them, and following this up with protests against their acts! Sending men to Conone of the results of breaking down the ascendthen begging them not to betray them! "The ernment. Its tyranny over Southern sentiment exactions of these Slavery Propagandists are would be gradually weakened, and the imposa fact," responds his Whig neighbor. "How ritory would favor the gradual development of long shall these things be!" exclaims Deacon Smith. And then the three go straightway and forget all about their grievances in a hot of legislation for its extinction. contest between Whig and Democratic candidates, the creatures of caucuses, acting with

The mere fact that so many thousands of States whenever Questions of Slavery come up, This record is a specimen of what takes place is a demonstration that they are under the every day. The free States petition; the slave sway of organizations that do not embody or States are silent. So it was in 1848 and 1850.

Memorials againet Slavery poured in from the Were their citizens true to themselves, they the Union, with absolute subservience of all those favor of Slavery—in this way have the men brought up amidst Free Labor Institutions been obliged to forewear hostility to Slavery before they could expect favor at the hands of the country. The navigation laws secure to your those of the non-elaveholding? Are their views take care of the interests of Freedom, and it Slavery confined to the States in which it was committed in over-estimating the extent of Oregon, Nebraska, and the Indian Territories. The New York Times thinks it is not necessary to feel humiliated by the discovery, as we are still large enough for all practical pursuits of three hundred theres of three hundred there are still large enough for all practical pursuits of the ested in the question of Slavery-extension, than country. The navigation laws secure to your those of the non-slaveholding? Are they remainded in the question of Slavery-extension, than they could expect favor at the hands of the school of the union, and the country the non-slaveholding? Are they could expect favor at the hands of the school of the union, and they could expect favor at the hands of the school of the union, and they could expect favor at the hands of the school of the union, and they could expect favor at the hands of the school of the union, and they could expect favor at the hands of the school of the union, and they could expect favor at the discovery, as we will be done: if they will not do this, they have eight to country. The navigation laws secure to your take of the union, and they could expect favor at the discovery, as we will be done: if they will not do this, they have eight to country be an oright to country be an oright to country be an oright to country and they could expect favor at the discovery as we will be done: if they will not do this, they could expect favor at the discovery as we shipping the profits of the country beautiful to the country.

and "Nationality," as they call it, which your vast manufactures, your unparalleled tinet class of three hundred thousand. Allow- troubling them with petitions not to play false? nucleus of this Party of Freedom exists, under surest road to the practical predomi

from the by their Representatives, spurned by the Slave-

"Democratic," serve but to cloak their habitual leaders as Webster, Cass, Fillmore, and Pierce. master as the Slave Interest, and unite as one man, in the assertion of the right of a free triumphant majority at the Ballot Box, and through it, wrest from Slaveholders the Administrative Powers of the Federal Governthe repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the ministrative Powers of the Federal Governthe repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. Woe to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. Woe to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. Woe to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. Woe to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. Woe to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. Woe to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. Woe to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. We to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. We to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. We to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. We to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. We to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty. We to him the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fix their line of duty.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO!

Suppose your Party of Freedom triumphan at the polls, a majority in Congress, and ascend ant in the Federal Executive, what would you do? inquires the elaveholder. Do much that last ratifying the measure, as a final settleyour Party of Slavery has not done, and undo much that it has done.

We would repeal the act of 1801'-2, by which the slave code of Maryland was continued in this District, and pass a law here for the protection of personal freedom.

We would repeal that part of the act of 1808 by which regulations were established for the transportation of slaves coastwise, and pass an act declaratory of the impossibility of the exist ence of Slavery under the American flag on the high seas. We would forbid the seizure and sale of slav

nder United States process. We would repeal the act of 1850, and tha of 1793, in relation to fugitives from service or

We would enact a law, declaring that there shall be no Slavery or involuntary servitude in any Territory of the Union, now existing, or that may hereafter be acquired, or anywhere within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal

In Federal Legislation, touching the subject of Slavery, our action then would be the exact reverse of yours. You, by acts of Congress clearly unconstitutional, have established and supported Slavery within Federal Jurisdiction and, by preventing the exercise of constitution no one who knows anything of their history and all authority by Congress, allowed the evil to repeal those acts, and also exert that author- tion of both-Compromise disqualifies both for ity so as to exclude Slavery from every foot of their opinions and wishes. And yet, the domi- soil under the exclusive control of the Federal

the successor of one of these gentlemen, a man In regard to the organization of Congress, who, so far from being imbued with the preva- the construction of the Administration, and lent ideas of his State on the subject of Slave- the distribution of Patronage, we would act ry, concurs in the extreme views of the Slave- for Liberty, as you have done for Slavery in electing him, the Question of Slavery was all important committees in both Houses of Congress; by securing them the control of the Cabinet and the various Executive Departments; by excluding Pro-Slavery men, as you have excluded Anti-Slavery men, from offices cants for office in slaveholding States, favorably disposed to Emancipation, the preference over those committed to the support of perpetual Slavery, just as you have preferred for office in the free States, the opponents, to the friends,

of Emancipation. The results of thus changing the position and incalculable importance.

The free States would be absolved of all political responsibility for Slavery, and relieved from that corrupt spirit of Compromise and that servility among their politicians which now debase their politics, and to a fearful extent have lowered the tone of their religious sentiment. sends men to Congress to maintain and ex- tions. Political Parties would no longer be orbe done save by truckling to the President and of the control of the Federal Government Party Managers at home or in Washington | would cease to be feared at the North and South, and it would not be long before the citi such results! Sending men to Congress to would begin to manifest their opposition to it gress to protect their rights and interests, and ency of the Slave Power in the Federal Govintolerable," says an excited Democrat. "That's sibility of any further expansion of Slave ter-

Let us not, then, conceal from ourselves utter antagonism between the party of Slavery exclusive regard to availability, some petty lo- and the party of Freedom, the precisely oppocal interest, or Federal patronage, with not the site policies they propose, the precisely opposlightest reference to Liberty or Slavery. or the other may obtain the final control of the Federal Government. If the party of Slavery shall continue in the ascendant, as it is

to their party! In the Senate of the United States, Whigs and Democrats, as they are called, would refuse to ratify the nomination of an open advocate of the policy of the Ordinance of 1787, should the President be so unfortunate as to blunder upon such a nomined of an open advocate of Slavery Extension, except by the two Independent Democratic Senators.

"Democracy" and "Whignery" among as a large number of their Representatives and same wretched shams. They are the same of the United States absolved from responsibility for Slavery of the Ballot would have superseded that control its Press and the Pulpit, its coolestisticns. Public determined of the Ballot would have superseded that that control its Press and the Pulpit, its coolestisticns. Public determined of the Ballot would have superseded the necessity of an appeal to the Petition. Without being petitioned, the Senate of the policy of the Ordinance of 1787, should the President be so unfortunate as to blunder upon such a nomination nance of 1787, should the President be so underthing the pressident of the pulpic the special time the control its Press and the Pulpit, its cooles the will of the necessity of an appeal to the Petition.

With this estimate of the absolute dependent of the mode of administration. Who are the Representatives and Senators in Congress from the fixed policy is compromise of the Constitution," as they are called, instead of being a conviction that their People save of the Ballot would have supersected the necessity of the necessity of an appeal to the Petition.

With this esti States absolved from responsibility for Slavery fied with the spectacle they exhibit—betrayed construction of them, and by the liberal exercise of all constitutional powers in favor of appealed to as precedents for still more injurious compromises. Their policy on the subject of Slavery is a perpetual reproduction and aggravation of these compromises.

> The general spirit and provisions of the Constitution, which are all in favor of Freedom. provisions in relation to Slavery, and these not those, govern and shape their whole action. Their Northern sections struggled hard against what are called the Compromises of 1850, but when, by Northern treachery, they were overpowered, they submitted, ceased to complain, and at last through National Conventions, and Northern Whigs, unitedly, because out of power—the Northern Democrats, partially, be-party watchwords shall interpose impedim cause they are in power, and the measure is a consummation so every way desirable sustained by their Administration. But, let when the smoke shall have cleared are y the Bill pass, and you will see these old par- be easy to discern what are the duties of ties, at first protesting, then submitting, at '56, and by what means, under what que

Thus always will it be. Each new aggres sion of Slavery will be met by resistance, determined on the part of the old party out of power, debilitated on the part of the old party in power, but if compliance be secured, both will submit, acquiesce, ratify. The Northern Whigs now are fierce against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—but examine their proceedings; they look neither to the past nor to the future, but simply to the present issue.

If the Slave Power be baffled, what then Not a word as to the ground it has gained, and Freedom lost-not a word as to future aggressions. The Past is ratified, the Future, unguarded. No attempt to dispossess Slavery of the vantage ground it holds, is dreamed of. Indemnity for the past, security for the future, is not an article in the creed of either Whigs or Democrate, as they call themselves. Unorganized, unsystematic, unintelligent resistance, on single issues, raised by Slavery, is their policy, not adopted, but forced upon them. Our policy, the policy of the Independent Democratic organization, is, deliberate, systematic, thoroughly organized opposition to all usurpations of Slavery, accomplished, in progress, or in conception. Their policy is negative and partial; ours, positive and complete. Essentially, there Legislation of 1850, which left the Territoria effective opposition to the Slave Power. Compromise we repudiate and spurn, and within the limits of the Federal Jurisdiction ask no and jury trial, and secured to the Save Interfavors from Slavery, and will give it none.

THO CHANGE OF POLICY.

In one of our articles on the organization o the friends of Freedom, we pointed to the reconstruction of the Whig Party, now everywhere in progress, and to the danger that po litical Anti-Slavery men or Independent Democrats, in their zeal to baffle the Nebraska conspiracy, might inconsiderately suffer themselves to be absorbed by that organization. They were right in desiring a united demon stration against that mischief, but this could be accomplished without a sacrifice of their own organization. Co-operation, not " Fusion,' was their true policy. This would meet the demands of the present crisis, and secure the immediate good, so important to the interests of Freedom, and at the same time preserve policy of the Federal Government would be of their independence of an organization, which, acting nationally, has always been subservient to the Slave Interest. And we added

"Our Free Soil friends must take care les they find themselves carried as grist to the Whig mill; an operation for which the New York Tribune, with all its real Anti-Slavery spirit and its independence of party, is admirably adapted, the more so because it acts from a kind of constitutional instinct, rather than from cold premeditation." The Tribune replies:

"As to ' the Whig mill ' of which the Era speaks, we are not aware of any such intent as is implied. Whenever the Anti-Slavery grist can be better ground in the Democrat mill, we would have it carried thither. object only to the policy of waiting for a new and vastly superior mill to be built, and mean-time letting the grain mould and the would-be eaters famish. Better have the grist indifferently ground, than not at all." That is to say-better have the Anti-Slavery

grist ground out at the Whig mill, in the shape of such products as Clay, Taylor, Fillmore, Webster, Scott, and Everett, than not ground at all-wherein we decidedly differ from the Tribune. Such milling is worse than none. But the Tribune has a labored article in re-

ply to our views, in which, after having freely ndulged in vague generalities about Party and How admirable must be the politics of these zens of the slave States, two-thirds of whom Parties, it frankly admits all that we have predicted as to its future course. The following extract leaves no room for doubt as to the policy of that journal on the question of Sla-"We certainly are not particularly devoted

to the Whig organization. On the centrary, when we saw Gen. Scott ignominiously defeated by men who boast of being Whigs par exed by men who boast of being whigs par ex-cellence, we thought the time had fully arrived for the dissolution of the party. We blame no man for openly and manfully siding against the party with which he has hitherto neted. It is at all times his right, often his duty, to do It is at all times his right, often his duty, to do so. But when a large and previously leading portion of a party proclaims that it can no longer concur in the action nor support the candidates of that party, then it seems to us high time that the party should formally dissolve and be reconstructed. Apart from our conviction that all party organizations necessarily tend, as they grow old, to become corrupt and the shelter of corruption, and that it would be well for the country if each party were formally dissolved and broken up at least once in twelve years, we believe that there was special reason for the dissolution of the Whig party after the dissaster of '52, and that its breaking up at that time would have been a national bleesing.

"But, while we care little for the Whig or-

But, while we care little for the Whig oranization, we cherish an abiding faith in and devotion to the great ideas on which that organization was founded. I's devotion to peace and the arts of peace—to the diversification of industrial pursuits and processes—to improvement at home rather than conquest and agosophical tastes of the Tribune in the about

No matter what it would have prefer knows as a matter of fact, that th Party was not dissolved, is not broken is now in a process of re-organization old basis, in the old form, with the old

what does the Tribune intend to do as gre? The answer is given in the foll

National nominating Conventions, an rejoice if none should evermore be l shall have been nominated by such Con We detest all such platforms as that sh der Gen. Scott at naltimore in '52 : w in our ardent support of the candidate of the platform. So it may be again. to 'Fusion,' 'Co-operation,' and all that quite indifferent to terms or names, We trust the upholders of the Mi estriction in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michiga Wi-consic, and lows, are about to desist fro

their past squabbles, units on common car dates, and elect them by triumphant maj ties, in the elections of the current year; whether they shall be called 'Whigs,' '! Soilers, or something else—whether their ment shall be pronounced 'Fusion,' 'Co-oper tion, or called by some other name—we do t the triumphant battle fields of 1854, it

We have italicized the noticeable paris this extract. General Taylor, without a single qualifies

tion for the Presidency, except that he had dis thiguished himself by his bravery and success in a war, held by the Whig party to be unne cessary and wicked, was the Presidential car didate of that party in 1848, and the Tribus as anti-slavery and anti-war then as it is now supported him. He was elected-he died-Millard Fillmore, the Whig Vice President succeeded, under whose auspices the policy of slavery restriction was waived, the Wilm Proviso given up, the Fugitive Slave Las passed, and the popular excitement on the subject of Slavery allayed to such an extent that both Whig and Democratic parties som after made adhesion to the measures of Administration a test of party orthodoxy.

The Tribune does not repent of the police that secured such results, but "may ve probably" pursue it again.

In 1852, the Whig party took up snoth soldier, whose availability as a candidate wa his military renown; and he orenly avowed his concurrence in their creed, adopted at Ra timore, in which they declared their determ of Slavery, and provided for the of fugitive slaves, at the expense of State Sor reignty, of judicial decorum, of habeas corpu est a sway over the public councils and public

mind it never before exceled. The man, boldly and emphatically avowing his devotion to this creed, was supported by the Tribune, which was then just as anti-war and as Anti-Slavery as it is now. It spat upon the platform, and embraced him who stood upon it. It abjured the creed, and advocated him who adopted it. Yes-" we glory," it cries, "in or ardest support of the candidate, in suite of the

platform. So it may be again!" We never had any doubt of this, but many Anti-Slavery men have been deluding them selves with the notion that the Tribune, and the Anti-Slavery Whigs it represents, would here after go for independent political Anti-Slavery action. We knew better, because we under stood the Principle of the Tribune's policy, and its Prejudices. That Principle is embodied in

this declaration : . "We are prepared hereafter, as heretofore to do the good that is practicable, ra her than a tempt the ideal better which is unattainable. Those Prejudices are revealed in the fellow-

ing paragraph : But, while we care little for the Whie ganization, we cherish an abiding faith in and devotion to the great ideas on which that or ganization was founded. Its devotion to peace and the arts of peace-to the diversification industrial pursuits and processes—to improvement at home rather than conquest and ag grandizement abroad-to the supremacy law over brute force—to the policy which unites distant States by iron bands, and makes our Union closer rather than broader-thee cannot be given up nor dispended with. Nay we believe the prejudice of the ignorant against the Whig party presents the strongest if no the only obstacle to their speedy and unqual fied triumph; and hence that the dissoluti of the Whig party would be the shortest an surest road to the practical predominance

Whig principles." Under the influence of these Prejudices,-for what but Prejudice is the notion that the Whig Party is in favor of Peace, and the Democratic Party, of War; or that the Whig Party is favor of a Pacific Railroad, and the Democra ic Party against it !-- the Tribune will always when the two organizations are arrayed again each other, support the Whig candidates, in preference to the Democratic, because Whig Ideas on the whole are preferable to Democratic; and it will always support the Whig candidates against those of a small organization with no prospect of immediate success, no ma ter how sound its doctrines, how glorious its aims, how worthy its men, because prepared "now as heretofore, to do the good that is practicable, rather than attempt the ideal better which is unattainable."

This is the Tribune's philosophy and practice-this is the philosophy and practice of

not from prejudice against that journal, but because it is the exponent and guide of the great body of Anti-Slavery Whigs, enforces and illustrates the same Principle of political action in relation to the Slave Power, which controls the policy of the New York Evening